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## THE JOHN BIRCH SOCIETY

Mr. DODD. Mr. President, it is unfortunate for our society that opinions about communism frequently tend to polarize to extreme positions.

On the one hand, there have always been naive or softheaded people, ultraliberals who refuse to believe that communism can be all evil; who insist that the Communists are like ourselves and that, if we are prepared to be reasonable, coexistence with them is possible; who close their eyes to all the massive evidence that communism is an international conspiracy committed to the destruction of freedom and religion; who cry "witch-hunt" or McCarthyism at every effort to investigate Communist front operations and Communist infiltration of government positions; who are not pro-Communist, but react with far greater emotion against every manifestation of anticommunism than they ever seem capable of displaying against communism.

At the other extreme, there are those who are sincerely anti-Communist but who believe that everyone who disagrees with them is either a Communist or a dupe of the Communists, that every political figure who has been guilty of an error in judgment or a policy that failed, is ipso facto, a member of the Communist conspiracy.

These extreme positions beget and encourage each other. The ultraliberal extremist becomes more extreme every time he is presented with evidence that someone has been the target of unjust or exaggerated accusations.

The ultraconservative extremist becomes more extreme, more set in his views, with every new manifestation of ultraliberal tolerance toward Communist and Communist-front operations.

For these reasons, Mr. President, I believe that the distinguished senior Senator from North Dakota performed a real service when he brought certain facts about the John Birch Society to the attention of this body on March 8.

Here is an organization which many thousands of sincere, dedicated citizens have joined because they are concerned over the Communist successes in recent years and would like to know more and to do something about it.

The evidence, however, suggests that many of those who joined the John Birch Society did so in ignorance of the real views of the leadership of the organization.

Mr. Robert Welch, the head of the John Birch Society, is certainly opposed to communism. But how does he oppose communism? Approximately 4 years ago he brought out a book entitled "The Politician," which was given limited circulation. In this book, Mr. Welch assailed Presidents Roosevelt, Truman and Eisenhower, the late Secretary of State John Foster Dulles, Mr. Allen Dulles, head of the Central Intelligence Agency, Chief Justice Warren, Dr. Milton Eisenhower and many others, as Communists or Communist agents.

To accuse people like President Eisenhower and John Foster Dulles and the others of being Communist agents is an affront to both decency and intelligence. It brings our leaders and our institutions into disrepute, it sows division, it makes it easier for the Communists and the ultraliberals to equate opposition to communism with political lunacy.

I believe, Mr. President, that the extreme views of Mr. Welch are not shared by the great majority of the sincere Americans who have joined the John Birch Society because of their genuine concern over communism. But these views cannot be dismissed out of hand as the individual views of one man. Mr. Welch happens to be the head of the organization. The views in question moreover are recent views, which Mr. Welch has never repudiated.

Quite inevitably, Mr. Welch's extremism has infected some of his more impressionable followers. It has come to my attention, for example, that the senior Senator from North Dakota and the senior Senator from California have been the targets of vicious, organized campaigns of letter writing. The gist of these letters, some of them addressed directly to the Senators, some of them sent to local newspapers, is that the Senators in question are soft on communism or are dupes of the Communists. Sometimes these charges are made openly; sometimes they are made by innuendo and implication. The people who write these letters do not identify themselves as members of the John Birch Society, but no knowledgeable person has any doubts about the origins of this despicable campaign of harassment.

But I want to tell the people of America and, in particular, I want to tell the members of the John Birch Society, that there are no more staunch anti-Communists in our country than the senior Senator from North Dakota and the senior Senator from California. I consider the attacks on them to be beneath contempt.

I agree with the opinion expressed by the conservative Los Angeles Times in its editorial of March 12:

> If the John Birchers follow the program of their leader, they will bring our institutions into question exactly as the Communists try to do. They will sow distrust, and aggravate disputes, and they will weaken the very strong case for conservatism.

I believe that it weakens the anti-Communist cause and it plays into the hands of the Communists, when anti-communism can be associated with this kind of sweeping, irresponsible, and repugnant charges made against so many distinguished Americans.

Few men have held high public office without committing their quotas of blunders and miscalculations. For my own part, I believe that the free world has been guilty of many grave blunders in the postwar period—blunders committed because we failed to understand the true nature of communism. But it is the worst kind of madness to charge that all of these blunders were perpetrated under the direction of the Communist conspiracy by men who hold or have held the highest offices our country has to offer.

I want to commend the American press for bringing this situation to light. I welcome this evidence of vigor and initiative on the part of the press.

The press has a tremendous weapon for public good in the power of exposure. It has used it effectively in the case of the John Birch Society. But for some reason which I cannot understand it has not used this weapon anywhere near as effectively against the Fair Play for Cuba Committee, the various offshoots of the Communist peace offensive, and the other Communist-front operations in this country.

There is a job of political balancing to be done. For my own part, I would be more than satisfied if our press devoted as much column space in coming months to exposing the subterranean operations of the Communist Party in this country as they have in recent weeks to exposing the excesses of the John Birch Society.

Mr. KUCHEL. Mr. President, I am more grateful than I can say for the comments made by the distinguished Senator from Connecticut [Mr. DODD].

Mr. President, international communism has been and will continue to be an evil, dangerous worldwide conspiracy. Its intent continues to be to destroy freedom. It is the very antithesis of freedom. Everything which Americans hold dear is directly, completely opposite to international communism.

This country, under Democratic administrations and under Republican administrations, has demonstrated a courage and a zeal to maintain freedom, to deter Communist aggression, and, if necessary, to combat it.

We have in this country, regretably, some few people who are guilty of treason. I suppose that is always the case in any society. There are some who would pull down the pillars and try to destroy the very freedom under which they are able to engage in their kind of ugly and reprehensible activity.

But there is an equal danger in this country from those who take shocking and unbelievable positions, who continue an extreme philosophy of objecting to every kind of progress, who point the finger at those who disagree with them, and say, "There walks a Communist."

It is a fantastic and incredible libel upon one of the world's great exponents of freedom when the head of this society accuses Dwight Eisenhower of being "a card-carrying Communist." Should the American people and the American Government let that kind of vile spleen be poured upon one who has given his whole life to dedicated service to America, through participation in the world's greatest war, as the top commander, in which his armies emerged victorious, and through 8 years of unselfishly serving the American people as their Chief Executive?

Mr. President, I denounce anyone who makes that kind of false and contemptible charge.

Across the street sits the Chief Justice of the United States, another great American. People in this society besmirch his character.

Many of us in Government have been denounced and our names have been re-



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